

# THE ABOLITIONIST.

VOL. I.]

OCTOBER, 1833.

[NO. X.

## SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE TRADE IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.\*

The existence of slavery in any part of the United States, is probably a subject of frequent and bitter reflection to every patriot and philanthropist. The citizens of the northern section of the country, however, though they see and lament the extent of the evil in the southern states, have their feelings perpetually chilled, by the consciousness that all their efforts to remove or alleviate the disease which oppresses that quarter of our land, must be indirect and operate slowly. Many too of our most respectable citizens think that any discussion in the northern states, of the subject of slavery as it exists in the southern states, is an improper interference with their institutions. Though we consider this opinion as false and absurd, yet as a matter of fact we are compelled to admit its existence. Its effects are most pernicious. By denying the liberty of the press, of speech, and almost of thought, in regard to a subject upon which our remonstrances should be loud and unceasing, it prevents to a great extent the moral influence of the north from acting upon the south.

But there is one part of the country where slavery is allowed, in regard to which the citizens of the north have not only a right to indigate and complain of the evil, but a great duty to perform of active exertion for its suppression. We refer to the District of Columbia. This District now is, and probably long will remain, under the exclusive jurisdiction of the general government. We dispute the assertion that slavery in this district, is the business of the southern states more than of the northern. It is the common concern of

the whole nation. Slavery exists in this District by the permission of the government of the United States. The sin and disgrace of tolerating the institution there is national, and shared by the inhabitants of the northern states, equally with those of the southern.

If a citizen of New-York or Pennsylvania felt himself under a moral obligation to exert himself to put an end to slavery in his own State, why should he not feel the same obligation to abolish it in the District of Columbia? Is there any difference in the cases?

A little attention to the history and present condition of this district, will, we believe, convince any candid mind that slavery ought to be abolished there. This conclusion does not rest solely upon arguments which will apply to slavery in the southern states, but upon others also which apply specially to the District.

By the Constitution of the United States, Congress had power 'to exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatever over such district, not exceeding ten miles square, as might by cession of particular states and the acceptance of congress, become the seat of government of the United States.'

Under this provision, Maryland and Virginia, shortly after the adoption of the constitution, ceded to the United States those portions of their territory which now form the District of Columbia. After congress had assumed the jurisdiction of the District, a law was passed dated February 27, 1800, which provided that the laws of Virginia and Maryland, as they then existed, should continue in force in the parts of the District by those states respectively ceded to the United States. Those laws therefore are still the laws of the District of Columbia, except in those particulars in which they have been altered by acts of congress.

Under this exclusive jurisdiction, granted by the constitution, congress has power to abolish slavery and the slave trade in the District. It would hardly be necessary to state this as a distinct proposition, had it not been

\* This piece contains the substance of an article upon 'An Extract from a Speech delivered by CHARLES MINER, in the House of Representatives of the United States, in 1829, on the subject of Slavery and the Slave Trade in the District of Columbia: with Notes,'—which appeared in the American Quarterly Review, in September last, with some alterations and additions by the writer of the article.

occasionally questioned. The truth of the assertion, however, is too obvious to admit of argument, and, we believe, has never been disputed by persons who are familiar with the constitution.

The situation of the District in regard to slavery, is peculiarly unfortunate. Congress has done scarcely any thing on the subject; so that one part of the District is governed by the old slave code of Virginia, as it was thirty years ago, with no material improvement, and the other by that of Maryland as it was at the same period.

The number of slaves in the District of Columbia, was in 1830 only 6050, being little more than one seventh part of the whole population, which was 39,834. This class, therefore, in the District, is absolutely very small. It is also small when compared with the whole population of the District; and when compared with the whole population of the country, it sinks into insignificance. We advert to the small number of slaves, not as a reason for neglecting them, but as one of the strongest arguments for enfranchisement. Where, in a population of one hundred thousand, ninety thousand are slaves, or of five hundred thousand, two hundred and fifty thousand are slaves, there is plausibility in the plea that immediate abolition would be attended with danger. But it is idle to talk of danger from the enfranchisement of the six thousand slaves in the District, when there are thirty-four thousand freemen to protect themselves, to say nothing of the support of a nation comprising eleven millions of freemen.

In considering the propriety of abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia, we scarcely need advert to the general arguments against the system. These are familiar to every general reader. We shall merely allude to some of them.

The system has its foundation in injustice. This we shall not attempt to prove, since even the advocates of slavery often admit theoretically that the slave has a perfect and inalienable right to his personal liberty.

The system being thus founded in injustice the laws which regulate the relation of master and slave, are to the latter cruel and oppressive.

The master of a slave has the legal right to sell him, and in so doing may separate him from his wife and children, and send him to a distant region where he may never see these dear objects of his affection till he meets them

again in a better world. This is not merely the law, but it is law not unfrequently put in practice in the district.

The slave is compelled to labor for his master, but is entitled to no wages for his services, and only receives such food, clothing, and lodging as his master pleases to bestow upon him. These it is scarcely necessary to add, are often shamefully insufficient.

The slave can be beaten and otherwise abused at the arbitrary will of his master or his deputy, and the law gives him no redress.

A slave cannot be a party to a suit. However grievously his person or property may be injured, he can bring no action for redress. If he sells any thing, he can bring no action for the price. If he works for wages, as he may by his master's consent, he can maintain no suit, if they are not paid.

In addition to these and other intolerable burdens which the law imposes on the slave, his offences are in many cases more severely punished than the same acts when committed by a white man.

The moral effects of the institution ought also to be borne in mind, in judging of the necessity of abolishing it in the District of Columbia.

Slavery deprives the slave almost entirely of intellectual, moral, and religious instruction; and thus brutalizes and degrades all his faculties.

It encourages prostitution and promiscuous intercourse among the negroes, and discourages lawful marriage.

While it produces these evils among the slaves, by a severe and necessary retribution, slavery corrupts the morals of the whites, rendering them indolent, licentious, intemperate, violent, revengeful, and unfeeling.

Of the political and economical evils of slavery we refrain from speaking, not because they are not great, but because they are obvious and admitted. Every one who knows any thing of the comparative situation of the northern and southern sections of our country, or even of Ohio and Kentucky, must acknowledge them.

There are many considerations in a great measure peculiar to the District of Columbia, which render the abolition of slavery there an imperative duty upon the nation. Mr. Miner, in a preamble to resolutions offered by him to the house of representatives, January 9, 1829,

presents in a condensed form some of the important facts which lead to this conclusion.

'Whereas the laws in respect to slavery within the District have been almost entirely neglected; from which neglect, for nearly 30 years, have grown numerous and gross corruptions.

'Slave dealers, gaining confidence from impunity, have made the seat of federal government their head quarters for carrying on the domestic slave trade.

'The public prisons have been extensively used, (perverted from the purposes for which they were erected,) for carrying on the domestic slave trade.

'Officers of the federal government have been employed, and derive emoluments from carrying on the domestic slave trade.

'Private and secret prisons exist in the district for carrying on the traffic in human beings.

'The trade is not confined to those who are slaves for life; but persons having a limited time to serve, are bought by the slave-dealers, and sent where redress is hopeless.

'Others are kidnapped and hurried away before they can be rescued.

'Instances of death, from the anguish of despair, exhibited in the District, mark the cruelty of this traffic.

'Instances of maiming and suicide, executed or attempted, have been exhibited, growing out of this traffic within the District.

'Free persons of color coming into the District, are liable to arrest, imprisonment, and sold into slavery for life, for jail fees, if unable, from ignorance, misfortune, or fraud, to prove their freedom.

'Advertisements beginning, 'We will give cash for one hundred likely young negroes of both sexes, from eight to twenty-five years old,' contained in the public prints of the city, under the notice of congress, indicate the openness and extent of the traffic.

'Scenes of human beings exposed at public vendue are exhibited here, permitted by the laws of the general government.

'A grand jury of the district has presented the slave trade as a grievance.

'A writer in a public print in the District has set forth 'that to those who have never seen a spectacle of the kind (exhibited by the slave trade) no description can give an adequate idea of its horrors.'

'To such an extent had this trade been carried in 1816, that a member of congress from Virginia introduced a resolution in the House, 'That a committee be appointed to inquire into the existence of an *inhuman* and *illegal* traffic in slaves carried on in and through the District of Columbia, and report whether any, and what measures are necessary for putting a stop to the same.'

'The House of Representatives of Pennsylvania, at their last session, by an almost

unanimous vote, expressed the opinion, 'that slavery within the District of Columbia ought to be abolished.'

'Numerous petitions from various parts of the Union have been presented to congress, praying for the revision of the laws in respect to slavery, and the gradual abolition of slavery within the District.

'A petition was presented at the last session of congress, signed by more than one thousand inhabitants of the District, praying for the gradual abolition of slavery therein.'

The statements made by Mr. Miner in this preamble, we believe, are abundantly proved by facts. Most of them are fully substantiated in his speech.

As, probably, the greater part of the citizens of our country, though favorable to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, are ignorant of the extent and enormity of the traffic in slaves carried on there, the subject deserves a more particular notice.

The States of Virginia and Maryland having for some time found the cultivation of the soil by slaves less profitable than it was formerly, now raise slaves for sale and exportation to the southern markets. Six thousand slaves are computed to be sold every year to go out of Virginia alone. The District of Columbia, probably in consequence of the neglect of congress, has been found a very convenient place for collecting together and shipping cargoes of living bodies to the south.

The manner in which this business is carried on, is inhuman and disgraceful to the country which endures it. Regular slave traders reside at the very seat of government. We copy one of their advertisements from Mr. Miner's speech.

#### 'WE WILL GIVE CASH

For one hundred likely young negroes of both sexes, between the ages of eight and twenty-five years. Persons who wish to sell would do well to give us a call, as the negroes are wanted immediately. We will give more than any other purchasers that are in market, or may hereafter come into market.

Any letters addressed to the subscribers, through the post office at Alexandria, will be promptly attended to. For information, inquire at the subscribers', west end of Duke Street, Alexandria, D. C.

FRANKLIN & ARMFIELD.'

Besides Franklin & Armfield, whose names are signed to this advertisement, several other regular slave-traders reside in the District. Among these may be named Washington Roby, one Simpson, and Gilson Dove of Wash-

ington. One M'Candless, we are informed, keeps a tavern for negro traders at Georgetown; and many negro dealers from the south, are in the habit of resorting to the District. We have thought it a duty to mention the names of these cannibals, in the same manner that we should those of a gang of thieves or counterfeiters.

The slaves are brought into the district in droves, handcuffed and chained together, and driven like beasts. These wretched victims are then cast into public and private jails, where they are kept till they are sent to the South. Mr. Miner, in his speech, read the following extract of a letter from Alexandria.

'Almost every week droves are brought into town of ten or twelve, all chained together. Some time since a person observed twenty-two or three come out of a cellar of a small house, where they had been stowed for some time. He thought it must surely be contrary to the law, that so many should be placed in so small an apartment, and inquired of one of the civil officers, how many slaves it was lawful to place in a damp cellar. The officer replied 'as many as it will hold.' The same thing exists with regard to *shipping* them: they may place as many in a vessel as it will hold.'

Mr. Miner makes the following statement in regard to the jail in Washington.

'By papers furnished me by the keeper, it appears that there were sent to prison for safe keeping, that is, as is well understood, for sale, and imprisoned as runaways.

|              | <i>Safe keeping.</i> | <i>Taken up as runaways.</i> |
|--------------|----------------------|------------------------------|
| In 1824,     | 81                   | 52                           |
| 1825,        | 124                  | 58                           |
| 1826 & 1827, | 156                  | 101                          |
| 1828,        | 91                   | 79                           |
|              | <hr/> 452            | <hr/> 290                    |

'Debtors and persons charged with criminal offences, of course, are not included in the statement, so that it would appear, in the last five years, more than four hundred and fifty persons had been confined in the public prison of the city—a prison under the control of congress, and regulated by its laws—for sale in the process of the slave trade. Such, said Mr M., is not the intention for which the prison was erected. Pennsylvania, so far as she is concerned, and her means are appropriated to repair and keep up the prison, I am confident in saying, does not and never has intended that it should be used for this purpose.'

We have information from other sources confirming the representations made by Mr Miner, as to the extent and atrocity of the slave trade in the District of Columbia.

A gentleman well acquainted in Washing-

ton, recently told us, that he should think from fifty to a hundred persons were sold yearly in that place to pay jail fees.

A private jail used solely in the slave business, is kept by Washington Roby, in Washington. Franklin and Armfield have a similar establishment in Alexandria. These places are well provided with cells, dungeons, irons, and other conveniences for the trade. Besides these jails, there are other places of confinement in houses which are often used for the same purposes.

Franklin and Armfield, the principal dealers in this District, have vessels constantly running to New Orleans with cargoes of human beings.

Slave-drivers reside at Washington who make it a business to drive droves of slaves further south by land. The children are carried in wagons, but the rest are forced to walk. The wretches who conduct this branch of the business, are provided with thumb-screws, as instruments of torture to be applied to refractory slaves.

These droves, as we may well imagine, present melancholy spectacles. The blacks move in pairs, the right hand of one handcuffed to the left hand of his neighbor. A chain passing through the whole length of the drove, connects the pairs together. The citizens of Washington were so shocked by the sight of these sad processions, and the hearing of their cries and groans, that it is now the practice for them to leave the city late on Saturday nights.

It is not easy to ascertain the precise extent to which the slave trade is carried on in the District of Columbia, though it may be in some degree judged of from the facts which we have stated. A branch of business in which so large an amount of capital is invested, in ships, jails, and bodies, and in which so many principal and subordinate agents are regularly employed, is obviously extensive.

The enormity of the slave-trade of which the District of Columbia has been made the seat, has not only excited the attention of strangers, but has roused the indignation of the inhabitants of the District themselves. Mr. Miner, in the course of his remarks, read a presentment made by a grand jury at Alexandria, in 1802.

'January Term, 1802.

'We, the grand jury for the body of the county of Alexandria, in the District of Col-

umbia, present as a grievance the practice of persons coming from distant parts of the United States into this District, for the purpose of purchasing slaves, where they exhibit to our view a scene of wretchedness and human degradation, disgraceful to our characters as citizens of a free government.

'True it is, that those dealers in the persons of our fellow men, collect within this District, from various parts, numbers of those victims of slavery, and lodge them in some place of confinement until they have completed their numbers. They are then turned out in our streets, and exposed to view, loaded with chains, as though they had committed some heinous offence against our laws. We consider it a *grievance*, that citizens from distant parts of the United States, should be permitted to come within the District, and pursue a traffic fraught with so much misery to a class of beings entitled to our protection by the laws of justice and humanity; and that the interposition of civil authority cannot be had to prevent parents from being wrested from their offspring, and children from their parents, without respect to the ties of nature. We consider those grievances demanding legislative redress; especially the practice of making sale of black people, who are, by the will of their masters, designed to be free at the expiration of a term of years, who are sold and frequently taken to distant parts, where they have not the power to avail themselves of that portion of liberty which was designed for their enjoyment.'

Judge Morrel, in his charge to the grand jury of Washington, at the session of the Circuit Court of the United States, January, 1816, urged upon their attention the slave trade carried on in the District. He said, that 'the frequency with which the streets of the city had been crowded with manacled captives, sometimes even on the Sabbath, could not fail to shock the feelings of all humane persons; that it was repugnant to the spirit of our political institutions, and the rights of man, and he believed was calculated to impair the public morals, by familiarizing scenes of cruelty to the minds of youth.'

One of the worst features in the slave trade carried on in the District of Columbia, is that it leads to enslaving free people of color. One mode in which this effect is produced is set forth in the presentment of the grand jury. Another, is by selling free colored persons who have been arrested as runaways, and fail to prove their freedom. Mr. Miner mentions some cases of this kind.

'I have another case of hardship to bring to your notice. A man was taken up as a run-

away, and advertised for sale. He protested that he was a freeman. No proof to the contrary appeared. As the time of sale approached, a good deal of interest was excited for him, and two respectable citizens interposed in his behalf. They asked the delay of a short time, that the rights of the man might be ascertained. They went so far as to offer security for the payment of the fees, if the sale could be delayed. But I will read the evidence of what I state.'

Here Mr. M. read the following:

'District of Columbia, } ss.  
'Washington County, }

'Appear before me, a justice of the peace in and for this county, Ezekiel Young and Josiah Bosworth, two respectable witnesses, and make oath, in due form of law, that, in the last summer, they were at the jail of the county of Washington, in the said District, in behalf of a black man called James Green, who stated that he was free, and could prove his freedom, and had written on for that purpose. That they did importune with the deputy marshal of this district, to postpone the sale, and offered security for the fees, yet the said deputy marshal said he could not postpone the sale. He was then sold to a man who acknowledged himself a slave dealer, but said he would continue the slave here a few days, but did not. He was sold without any limitation of time of service, and no security was required of the slave dealer to retain him in the District.

'Given under my hand and seal, this 28th Jan. 1828. JOHN CHALMERS, J. P. [L.S.]

'So the man was sold, and sent off by the slave dealers into hopeless bondage, though probably having as much right to freedom as any one. Will any one doubt but our laws need revision? Can any one who hears me, question but that this whole matter needs to be looked into with a searching eye? If this event had happened in a distant country, how strongly would it have affected us? There is, in the public prints, an advertisement of a woman as a runaway, and that she will be sold for her jail fees. She is a yellow woman of about nineteen. She seems intelligent, and to have been well brought up. Her story is, that she is entitled to her freedom at twenty-five, but that her present master, who is a slave dealer, is trying to make her a slave for life. In this case I do not think the confinement is intended to aid him. But it will be seen in a moment, that when the subject passes by unheeded, a dealer, owning a servant who has two or three years to serve, may cause him to be arrested as a runaway, let him be sold for jail fees, have a trusty friend to buy him in, and thus convert a servant for a term of years, into a slave for life. A more expeditious mode of proceeding, by which persons having a limited time to serve are de-

prived entirely of their rights, is this: They are purchased up at cheap rates by the slave traders. They remove them to a great distance. It will be easily seen how small the chance that such persons would have to preserve the proofs of their freedom, and how little would their protestations be heeded without proof. They are carried where redress is hopeless. Thus the slave trade, as it exists, and is carried on here, is marked by instances of injustice and cruelty, scarcely exceeded on the coast of Africa. It is a mistake to suppose it is a mere purchase and sale of acknowledged slaves. The District is full of complaints upon the subject, and the evil is increasing.'

How atrocious is the system, which is here revealed; how disgraceful to a christian community! A poor man is arrested on suspicion of being a slave. No owner appears to claim him. He is refused time to establish his freedom by evidence; and finally is sold as a slave to pay jail fees. Every part of the proceeding is inhuman and brutal. In a country where liberty is prized, the presumption should be, that every man is free till he is proved to be a slave. In the District of Columbia, every colored person is presumed to be a slave, unless he can prove his freedom.—When an owner does not appear after a reasonable time, to claim the person arrested on suspicion of being a slave, the prisoner ought to be discharged, and a compensation made to him for the injury which he has suffered. But in the District of Columbia, at the seat of government of a nation claiming to be one of the most enlightened on the face of the earth, the free man, thus wronged by a causeless imprisonment, is sold into hopeless bondage, *to pay jail fees!*

Some circumstances which have come to our knowledge justify the suspicion that officers of the United States government are deriving improper benefits from the system of selling for jail fees. We are informed that jailors in the District take considerable pains to prevent colored people confined on suspicion of being runaways, from sending to their friends to get papers to prove their freedom. They also exhibit an obvious reluctance to permit white persons who are desirous of assisting these poor prisoners, to see them.

The circumstances mentioned in the affidavit of Young and Bosworth lead to the same suspicion.

We have also been assured by a person whose veracity we have no reason to doubt,

that a certain justice of the peace and some constables in Washington have been known to take away from free people of color the papers which proved their freedom, and to prevent their using them.

But whether there is any official misconduct or not,—if the law be never transgressed in regard to the sale of runaways,—still, so long as the public jails and public officers of the United States are made instruments in the transfer of slaves, so long is the government of the country a slave trading government, and the people a slave trading people. They not only tolerate the transgression, but become parties in it.

Dr. Torrey, in his *Portraiture of Domestic Slavery*, mentions another mode in which free persons are robbed of their liberty by perjury. He says, 'having selected a suitable free colored person to make a pitch upon, the conjuring kidnapper employs a confederate to ascertain the distinguishing marks of his body, and then claims and obtains him as a slave, before a magistrate, by describing those marks, and proving the truth of his assertions by his well instructed accomplice.'

Not only does the toleration of the slave trade in the District of Columbia, lead to the kidnapping of freemen under color of law, but it is often the cause of their being kidnapped by violence. Dr. Torrey makes mention of several kidnapped persons whom he found confined in a house in Washington, and whose freedom he succeeded in obtaining. The following is his account of one of these cases.

'The others whom I found in the same garret, and at the same time, were a young black widow woman, with an infant at the breast, both of whom were born free. Her husband had died a few days previous to her seizure, and she was in a state of pregnancy at the time. She stated that the man in whose house she resided, together with his brother, and three other persons, (two of whom, she said, then stood indicted for having seized and carried her off at a former time,) came into the room (a kitchen) where she was in bed, seized and dragged her out, fastened a noose round her neck to prevent her from screaming, and attempted to blindfold her, which she resisted with such violence that she prevented them from succeeding. She said, while one of them was endeavoring to fix the bandage over her eyes, that she seized his cheek with her teeth, and tore a piece of it entirely off. She said one of them struck her head several times with a stick of wood, from the wounds of which she was almost entirely covered with blood.

She showed me a large scar upon her forehead, occasioned by one of the blows, which a gentleman who saw her the day previous to seizure, has since informed me was not there before. She said, while she was struggling against them, and screaming, the man in whose house she lived bawled out, 'Choak the ———; don't let her halloo; she'll scare my wife!' Having conquered her by superior force, she said, they placed her with the child in a chaise, (her description of which, with the horse and the driver, who was one of the victors, corresponds precisely with that given by the mulatto man, of the carriage, &c. by which he also was conveyed,) and refusing to dress herself, three of them, leaving the two who belonged to the house, carried her off in the condition that she was dragged from the bed, to a certain tavern in Maryland, and sold them both to the man-dealer who brought them to the city of Washington. She stated, that one of her captors drove the carriage, and held the rope which was fixed to her neck, and that one rode each side, on horseback: that while one of them was negotiating a bargain with her purchaser, he asked her who her master was, and replying that she had none, her seller beckoned to him to go into another room, where the business was adjusted without troubling her with any further inquiries. She stated, that her purchaser confessed, while on the way to Annapolis, that he believed she might have had some claim to freedom, and intimated that he would have taken her back, if the man of whom he bought her had not run away; but requested her, notwithstanding, to say nothing to any body about her being free, which she refused to comply with. She affirmed, that he offered her for sale to several persons, *who refused to purchase, on account of her asserting that she was free.* She stated, that her purchaser, had left her in Washington for a few weeks, and gone to the Eastern Shore, in search of more black people, in order to make up a drove for Georgia.

We might easily adduce accounts of many more atrocities, to which the toleration of the slave trade has given occasion. But it is not necessary. Enough, and more than enough, has already been presented to our readers, to show the disgraceful inconsistency of the laws of the United States, which, while they denounce the slave trade as piracy if carried on in Africa or any foreign country, yet permit a thriving branch of the same traffic to be pursued within sight and hearing of the national legislature.

Scarcely an evil attends the African slave trade, which does not find its parallel in that carried on at the seat of government of the United States, by the license of the American

people. The victims of the African slave trade are taken by force, against their will—they are carried to a foreign country—they are torn from their friends, their wives, their children—they are chained—some of them were born free, and have been kidnapped by force or fraud. In which of these particulars is the Columbian slave trade less atrocious? The black taken from the District goes reluctantly—he is forced from the home of his love, to the unhealthy borders of the Mississippi—as much removed from the hope of revisiting it, as if he was going to another continent; he is torn by violence, amid shrieks, and tears, and groans, and muttered imprecations, from the embraces of his wife and children; he goes handcuffed and chained; he was perhaps born free, and was stolen from Delaware or Maryland. Ought not such a traffic to be abolished, 'absolutely, totally, and immediately'?

We have been so long accustomed to the existence of slavery in the District of Columbia, that the enormity of tolerating it does not strike us as it would under other circumstances. Intelligent foreigners are almost uniformly surprised and shocked to find slavery and the slave trade flourishing at the seat of our government. The following extract from the work of a recent traveller in this country, does but express the common sentiment of almost all who have preceded him. We admit that Col. Hamilton is often flippant, ignorant, cynical, and prejudiced. But it is in vain to deny that, in the present case, it is their substantial truth which gives the sharp edge to his observations.

'Washington, the seat of government of a free people, is disgraced by slavery. The waiters in the hotels, the servants in private families, and many of the lower class of artisans, are slaves. While the orators in Congress are rounding periods about liberty in one part of the city, proclaiming, *alto voce*, that all men are equal, and that 'resistance to tyrants is obedience to God,' the auctioneer is exposing human flesh to sale in another! I remember a gifted gentleman in the Representatives, who, in speaking of the Senate, pronounced it to be 'the most enlightened; the most august, and most imposing body in the world!' In regard to the extent of imposition, I shall not speak; but it so happened that the day was one of rain, and the effect of the eulogium was a good deal injured by recollecting that, an hour or two before, the members of this enlightened and august body were driven to the Capitol by slave coachmen,

who were at that very moment waiting to convey them back, when the *rights of man* had been sufficiently disserted on for the day.

I trust I do not write on this painful subject in an insulting spirit. \* \* But, that slavery should exist in the district of Columbia, that even the foot-print of a slave should be suffered to contaminate the soil peculiarly consecrated to Freedom, that the very shrine of the goddess should be polluted by the presence of chains and fetters, is perhaps the most extraordinary and monstrous anomaly to which human inconsistency—a prolific mother—has given birth.

The man who would study the contradictions of individual and national character, and learn by how wide an interval, profession may be divided from performance, should come to Washington. He will there read a new page in the volume of human nature; he will observe how compatible is the extreme of physical liberty, with bondage of the understanding. He will hear the words of freedom, and he will see the practice of slavery. Men who sell their fellow-creatures will discourse to him of indefeasible rights; \* \* \* he will be taught the affinity between the democrat and the tyrant; he will look for charters, and find manacles; expect liberality, and be met by bigotry and prejudice.—*Men and Manners in America*, pp. 279, 280.

We have seen it stated that a majority of the inhabitants of the District of Columbia is favorable to the abolition of slavery there. Whether this statement be numerically correct we know not, but there can be no doubt that the friends of the measure there, are numerous and respectable. The wishes of the citizens of the District deserve the respectful consideration of Congress, even if no other arguments were to be found for enfranchisement. In another point of view this state of feeling in the District is important. Any statute which Congress may pass to put an end to slavery there, will meet with an active and cordial support in the very sphere of its operations. It can hardly be questioned that its effects will be far more beneficial under such circumstances, than if it were generally and strenuously opposed in the District.

It may perhaps excite surprise that Congress should not long since have proclaimed freedom to every bondman over whom it has jurisdiction, and declared that the seat of a free government should not continue a market for human bodies. The great reason that this result has not taken place, undoubtedly is, that the public generally are not at all aware of the nature and extent of the evil. All that is now necessary, in order to put an end to the

system, is to make the body of the people understand it. If this were done, a single session of congress would not perhaps be suffered to pass before a reform was commenced.

It must, however, be admitted, that arguments are not wanting from the friends of slavery, to prevent the interposition of congress. They urge, that for congress to act on this delicate subject, would offend the feelings of the southern members; and that to abolish slavery in the District would seem like a reproach on those states where it is not abolished. The sum of the argument is, that a great nation is to tolerate slavery and the slave trade,—to refuse the performance of a great act of justice and humanity,—because an opposite course would be a reproach upon that portion of the nation which is not troubled with conscientious scruples on the subject. The bare statement of the argument, in plain terms, carries with it its own confutation.

Whether slavery ought to be abolished in the District is not a mere question of political expediency, it involves principles of moral duty. Therefore while we admit that no act should be done for the mere purpose of irritating the whites of the south, we most earnestly contend that the claim which the blacks in the District have upon the nation for their freedom, is a claim of right, to neglect which, from the fear of giving offence to any part of the country, would be a base abandonment of principle.

We acknowledge the whites of the south as our friends and brethren. We are bound to them by a thousand ties of interest and feeling. But we ought not to sacrifice our principles as an offering to their prejudices.

But it is still further urged, that the slaves in the southern states will become uneasy if their brethren in the District be emancipated. We think there is little danger to be apprehended from this source. We have never heard that the abolition of slavery in New-Jersey and Pennsylvania, produced any bad consequences in Maryland and Virginia. We admit, however, that the southern states contain a large population among them, which is a constant and increasing source of danger, and which must continue to be so, as long as their present system remains. Conspiracies, murders, and insurrections are the natural fruits of slavery. It will no doubt produce them in future as it has in time past. The explosions which take place ought to be as-

cribed to the system itself, rather than to any extraneous circumstances.

We are, however, far from denying that the measure which we advocate, if it should be carried, is to be without influence in the southern states. On the contrary, we believe that it will have visible and important effects, not, in stimulating the blacks to violence, but in directing the attention of their masters to the subject of abolition. The mode in which Congress puts an end to the system in the District will be naturally regarded as a precedent in the southern states. If the measure should prove as beneficial, as we trust it will, it will add another argument to the many which now exist in favor of emancipation. The southern states may at first feel offended at the course adopted by Congress, but when they themselves are beginning a course of legislative enfranchisement, as some of them probably will before many years are past, all eyes will at once turn to the abolition law of Congress to guide them in their great experiment.

Many questions naturally occur to the mind, in considering the particular measures which Congress ought to adopt, in effecting any plan of abolition. Some of these questions are important. In examining them, however, we do not purpose to enter much into detail, but rather to present the general principles which we think ought to guide all legislation upon this subject.

An inquiry more frequently made than any other, is, whether abolition ought to be immediate or gradual. In our opinion the law to be passed ought to abolish slavery and the slave trade forthwith. Every colored person resident in the District, and every one hereafter coming into it, except the personal attendants upon members of Congress and the officers of government who belong to slave states, and runaway slaves, ought to be declared free immediately on the passage of the act. This course is recommended by obvious reasons.

It should never be forgotten in any discussion of this topic, that to give freedom to the slaves, is an act demanded by strict justice. They have a right to be made free. It is an act of injustice to them to detain them in bondage one moment longer than *the safety of society requires*.

The number of slaves in the District of Columbia, as we have already remarked, is small,

both absolutely, and comparatively with the total number of inhabitants in the District. Under these circumstances freedom may be safely given them at once and without any qualification. Where slaves are as numerous as they are in Virginia and South Carolina, in case they should be freed, new and peculiar laws would no doubt be required for their government.

While we contend that justice requires that the enfranchised slaves should be permitted to enjoy at once all civil rights, we are far from urging that they should be instantly admitted to all political privileges. They should be allowed to maintain suits, to be witnesses in courts of justice, and to acquire and transmit property, on the same terms as white men. Their crimes too ought to be visited with no higher penalties than those of whites. But the right of suffrage and eligibility to offices might, with propriety, for some years, be restricted to such of the blacks as can read and write.

Another consideration which renders immediate emancipation peculiarly necessary in the District of Columbia, is the slave trade carried on there. As long as slavery is suffered to linger in the District, so long will this branch of commerce be prosecuted, in spite of all the laws which may be made to regulate it. But, when no person in the District can be a slave, the traffic must necessarily cease.

To these reasons might be added, that if abolition is not prompt and expeditious, unprincipled persons will take advantage of the delay, to sell their slaves and transport them out of the District into the southern States, before the law goes into effect, and thus evade its operation.

Ought the owners of slaves who may be deprived of them by an abolition law, to receive any compensation? We reply, yes. For though the property of man in man is not rightful, yet as the whole nation in its corporate capacity has made this property legal, the whole nation ought to bear the loss, whatever it may be, arising from an adoption of correct principles. This, however, is a question between slaveholders and the nation, and the adjustment of it ought not to interfere for one moment with the right of the slaves to their freedom, which is clear and absolute. As the funds of the nation are abundant, the compensation ought to be liberal. Whether it ought to be the full market value of the slaves in

all cases, we shall not pretend to decide. It is probable that the liberation of plantation slaves will increase the value of plantations. Such an effect as this ought certainly to be taken into consideration in estimating the amount of compensation to be given. In regard to some other classes of slaves, the loss of their owners will probably be without any direct corresponding benefit. In such cases we do not see why the owners should not receive the full value of their slaves from the national treasury. The adjustment of the compensation must depend upon a greater statistical knowledge of the District of Columbia than we pretend to enjoy. But, as we have already remarked, the settlement of this point ought not to delay the passage of an abolition law for a moment.

Ought the liberated slaves to be colonized, that is, should any compulsory process be adopted to drive them from the country? We answer unhesitatingly, no. They are attached to the United States as their native land; and as long as they are guilty of no offence against society, have the same right to remain here as the whites.

We should regard any abolition law as imperfect, which did not make provision for the education of all the colored children in the District. Without education, though free, they must continue a degraded caste. Let them be educated, and they would become useful citizens, and an enduring monument to the awakened justice of our country, more delightful to the contemplation of the philanthropist than any structure of brass or marble.

It may perhaps be not amiss to say a few words as to the means by which the power of the national government may be called into action to suppress slavery in the District of Columbia. It should be recollected that Congress is never in advance of, but usually behind public opinion. It follows slowly but surely in the path taken by the people. The legislation of this body is but the echo of the people's voice. If the people really desire slavery to be driven from the seat of government, Congress will pass the statutes necessary to carry the object into effect. But it is in vain to expect the national legislature to adopt an important measure of this kind, which is sure to offend the prejudices of a large body in the community, unless the members feel confident that they are acting in conformity with the wishes of their constituents. A loud and decided expression of public sentiment is

necessary to stimulate the sluggish force of Congress, and to overcome the *vis inertia* with which an established evil resists every attempt to remove it.

The modes of acting upon Congress are so obvious and familiar, that it is needless to enlarge upon them. Those who are desirous of abolishing slavery in the District must unite themselves together, and use the common means for diffusing information upon the subject throughout the country. Newspapers and other periodical journals and tracts can be made to exert a widely extended influence. Public meetings should be held, and as many petitions as possible sent to Congress, praying for the desired object. An expression of opinion on the subject might probably, by active exertions, be obtained from some of the state legislatures.

It is not very difficult to rouse the nation, or rather the non-slaveholding part of it, to powerful exertion, in order to remove the pollution of slavery from the capital of our country. The principles of the people on this subject are sound, and their feelings warm. To induce them to act, nothing more is necessary, as we have already intimated, than to make them familiar with the facts of the case. Let this be done, and the abolition of slavery in the District will be so easily effected, that men will hereafter wonder that it should have been endured there so long.

Since the foregoing remarks were prepared for the press, the news of the abolition of slavery in the British Colonies has been received in this country. This glorious act of the British nation, presents a mortifying contrast to the conduct of our own. They have given freedom to eight hundred thousand slaves, separated from them by a vast extent of ocean; we refuse it to six thousand at the seat of our government, in the very heart of our country. Burdened as they are with an enormous debt, they cheerfully pay twenty millions of pounds sterling for the sake of liberty and justice; while we, free from debt, with flourishing finances, are not willing to pay a hundredth part of the sum in the same cause. All classes of the British people have for many years been exerting powerful efforts to effect the great object which they have at last accomplished; while the Americans during the same period, have remained deaf to the cries of their oppressed fellow men, and insensible to the dishonor of their country.

LETTER OF PATRICK HENRY.

The following copy of a letter from Patrick Henry, is published from the Unionist. It was addressed to Robert Pleasants, a Friend in Virginia. We are informed that it afterwards fell into the hands of Anthony Benezet, who gave it to the venerable Moses Brown, by whose means it has been preserved to the present time.

The letter is strongly marked by the frankness and fearlessness of Henry's character. But it exhibits a melancholy inconsistency between his principles and his practice.

We hope we shall not be charged with an improper interference with the South in publishing in Massachusetts a letter written sixty years since in Virginia.

It seems to us that we have either seen this letter before, or some production of Henry's pen in which similar sentiments were avowed. It deserves, however, frequent republication.

'DEAR SIR,—I take this opportunity to acknowledge the receipt of Anthony Benezet's book against the Slave Trade. I thank you for it. It is not a little surprising that christianity, whose chief excellency consists in softening the human heart, in cherishing and improving its finer feelings, should encourage a practice so totally repugnant to the first impressions of right and wrong; what adds to the wonder is, that this abominable practice has been introduced in the most enlightened ages, times that seem to have pretensions to boast of high improvements in arts, sciences and refined morality, have brought into general use and guarded by many laws, a species of violence and tyranny, which our more rude and barbarous, but more honest ancestors, detested. Is it not amazing, that at a time when the rights of humanity are defined and understood with precision, in a country above all others fond of liberty, that in such an age and such a country we find men professing a religion the most humane, mild, meek, gentle and generous, adopting a principle as repugnant to humanity, as it is inconsistent with the Bible and destructive to liberty?

Every thinking honest man rejects it in speculation, how few in practice, from conscientious motives. The world in general has denied your people a share of its honors, but the wise will ascribe to you a just tribute of virtuous praise for the practice of a train of virtues among which your disagreement to Slavery will be principally ranked. I cannot but wish well to a people whose system imitates the example of Him whose life was perfect, and believe me I shall honor the Quakers for their noble effort to abolish Slavery. It is equally calculated to promote moral and political good.

Would any one believe that I am master of slaves of my own purchase? I am drawn along by the general inconvenience of living without them. I will not, I cannot justify it. However culpable my conduct, I will so far pay my devoir to virtue as to own 'the excellence and rectitude of her precepts, and to lament my want of conformity to them.

I believe a time will come, when an opportunity will be offered to abolish this lamentable evil; every thing we can do is to improve it if it happens in our day, if not, let us transmit to our descendants together with our slave a pity for their unhappy lot and an abhorrence for slavery. If we cannot reduce this wished for reformation to practice let us treat the unhappy victims with lenity; it is the farthest advance we can make towards justice; it is a debt we owe to the purity of our religion to show that it is at variance with that law which warrants slavery. Here is an instance of silent Meetings, (the scoff of Reverend Doctors,) have done that which learned and elaborate preaching could not effect, so much preferable are the genuine dictates of conscience and a steady attention to its feelings, above the teachings of those men who pretend to have found a better guide.

I exhort you to persevere in so worthy a resolution. Some of your people disagree or at least and luke-warm in the abolition of Slavery. Many treat the resolution of your meeting with ridicule, and among those who throw contempt on it are Clergymen, whose surest guard against both ridicule and contempt is a certain Act of Assembly.

I know not where to stop. I could say many things on this subject, a serious review of which gives a gloomy perspective to future times.

Excuse this scrawl, and believe me with esteem,  
Your Ob't Serv't.

PATRICK HENRY, Jr.

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE BRITISH COLONIES.

The act putting an end to Slavery in the British Colonies was passed in August last. We have not yet seen the statute; and with the details of the measure as far as we understand them, we are far from being satisfied. But still the great object is accomplished. Eight hundred thousand men are freed from bondage. A nation of slaves is made a nation of freemen.

This event is an era in the history of the British nation, to which its past records afford no parallel. When the memory of the bloody victories of Cressy and Agincourt, Blenheim and Waterloo, shall become dim in the lapse of ages, future generations of Britons will look back to the abolition of slavery as the bright-

est and most godlike act in the annals of their country. It is a triumph of the higher principles of our nature,—of justice and humanity,—over selfishness, prejudice, and avarice.

The apparent apathy with which the news of an event so striking and momentous has been received in this country, would be surprising, if it were not that we had been prepared for the measure by slow and successive stages of information, so that long before the passage of the act was known, the result was considered as certain.

The abolition of slavery in the British colonies, however, cannot be looked upon with unconcern in the United States. Though the restoration of their natural rights to eight hundred thousand men, however distant from us, is an event interesting on its own account, yet the effects which it is to produce in this and other slaveholding countries, are even more important. When the British king put his name to the statute for abolishing slavery in the colonies, he signed the death warrant of slavery throughout the civilized world.

In vain will slaveholders and their adherents attempt to resist the moral influence of Great Britain. The moral courage of the benevolent will be strengthened, the moral sensibility of the lukewarm will be roused, and the moral force of the great body of the people will be called into action, to exterminate at once and forever the system which has so long disgraced manhood and Christianity.

#### FACTS.

The reasons which induce abolitionists to collect and publish cases of cruelty perpetrated by slaveholders, are frequently misrepresented. It is often said, that we charge the whole body of whites at the South, with habitually committing those barbarous outrages on the negroes, which, though they occasionally occur, are, in fact, exceptions to the general mode of treatment.

Our argument is very much perverted. When we give an account of any atrocity committed by a white, at the South, upon a negro, we do not wish it to be inferred that all the whites practise, or even approve of such atrocities. Many slaveholders, we readily admit, treat their slaves with kindness and consideration. If it were not so, the frame of society at the south could not endure for a moment.

Our argument, though of course we cannot

preface every incident we relate by a formal statement of it, is substantially this. The slaves are subjected to greater cruelty and oppression than the whites in our country, therefore, for this, in addition to many other reasons, slavery should be abolished.

How do we establish this argument? We show that the slaves are less protected by law from oppression than the whites; that public opinion has little respect for their rights; and that if they are injured they usually seek in vain for sympathy or assistance in the reigning caste. These general facts, indeed, cannot be disputed. But to represent the horrors of the system, and to awake public sensibility on the subject, it is necessary to exhibit in their true colors, the aggravated outrages which are daily occurring.

We do not contend then that all slaveholders are brutal and barbarous, but we do say, that the laws and institutions of the southern States encourage brutal cruelty, and that public sentiment there tolerates, if it does not sanction it.

We shall now proceed without further introduction to mention two horrible transactions which have lately been related to us. We regret that we did not ascertain the names of the parties.

The following circumstance occurred near Elkton in Maryland. A man, for some trifling cause or other had taken offence at a negro. In order to wreak his vengeance upon the poor slave without molestation, he purchased him of his owner, and had him whipped to death.

The wife of a clergyman, who resided in the State of Virginia, not far from Alexandria in the District of Columbia, became jealous of a female slave who resided in the family and was owned by her husband. During a short absence of the husband, the wife had the feet of this unfortunate woman chopped off, and in this mutilated condition had her carried to some distance from the house and there exposed in the open air. The weather was cold, and it was supposed she would perish. It happened, however, that some humane person passing by, had her taken to his house, where her wounds were cured.

When the husband returned home, his wife reported that his slave had died during his absence.

A considerable time afterwards the husband happened to visit the house of the person who

had relieved the wretched slave, and was made acquainted with the whole transaction. In order to place the woman as far as possible beyond the reach of his wife, he made a bill of sale of her to the person who found her. When the husband went home he told his wife what he had seen and heard. She, instead of being overwhelmed by learning that her barbarity had become known, expressed a wish to have the woman again. The precaution of the husband, in making a conveyance of the slave, fortunately preserved her from becoming again the victim of her mistress' diabolical passions.

If we are not mistaken, the person who narrated these cases to us, stated that neither of the guilty parties in these two atrocious transactions were ever punished or even indicted. Little or no attention, indeed, is paid to such occurrences at the South. Crimes which at the North would send their perpetrators to the gallows or the state prison, at the South are not visited with the slightest punishment. What must be the state of morals and feeling in a community in which such criminals are tolerated !

#### QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE NEW-ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

This meeting was held in Boylston Hall, September 30. A numerous audience was collected. After a prayer by the Rev. Mr. Phelps, and singing by a choir of colored children from Miss Paul's school, an address was delivered by the Rev. Mr. May.

We shall not pretend to give even an outline of Mr. May's discourse. It was, as it seemed to us, admirably adapted for the occasion, and was well calculated to interest and persuade his audience. Mr. May spoke with great earnestness, feeling, and eloquence, tempered throughout, however, with great kindness and Christian benevolence.

A vote of thanks was returned to Mr. May, and a copy of his discourse requested for the press.

A vote of thanks was also given to Miss Paul for the services of her pupils in singing.

The following resolutions were then proposed, and adopted without opposition.

*Resolved*, That the act of the British nation by which slavery is abolished in their colonies, merits the gratitude and admiration of the civilized world.

*Resolved*, That the thanks of this meeting be presented to those British philanthropists who have for so many years devoted themselves to the accomplishment of this glorious result.

#### BRITISH PROTEST AGAINST THE COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

We publish below a protest against the American Colonization Society, which has lately appeared in England. The names appended to it are among the most distinguished in the Anti-Slavery cause. The bitterness of the prejudices in this country against the colored people, has prevented too many really benevolent persons from viewing the persecuting and oppressive spirit of this association in its true light. In Great Britain, where the prejudice against the colored races of men is much milder, the true friends of the blacks have, almost to a man, shrunk back with abhorrence from schemes of banishment, disguised under the specious name of Colonization.

#### PROTEST.

We the undersigned, having observed with regret that the '*American Colonization Society*' appears to be gaining some adherents in this country, are desirous to express our opinions respecting it.

Our motive and excuse for thus coming forward are the claims which the Society has put forth to *Anti-Slavery* support. These opinions are, in our opinion, wholly groundless ; and we feel bound to affirm that our deliberate judgment and conviction are, that the professions made by the Colonization Society of promoting the abolition of Slavery, are altogether delusive.

As far as the mere Colony of Liberia is concerned, it has no doubt the advantages of other trading establishments. In this sense, it is beneficial both to America and to Africa, and we cordially wish it well. We cannot, however, refrain from expressing our strong opinion that it is a settlement of which the United States ought to bear the whole cost. We never required of that country to assist us in Sierra Leone ; we are enormously burdened by our own connection with Slavery ; and we do maintain that we ought not to be called on to contribute to the expenses of a Colony, which, though no doubt comprising some advantages, was formed chiefly to indulge the prejudices of American Slaveholders, and which is regarded with aversion by the colored population of the United States.

With regard to the extinction of the Slave Trade, we apprehend that Liberia, however good the intentions of its supporters, will be able to do little or nothing towards it, except on the limited extent of its own territories. The only effectual death blow to that accursed traffic will be the destruction of slavery throughout the world. To the destruction of slavery throughout the world, we are compelled to say that we believe the Colonization Society to be an obstruction.

Our objections to it are, therefore, briefly

these:—While we believe its pretexts to be delusive, we are convinced that its *real* effects are of the most dangerous nature. It takes its root from a cruel prejudice and alienation in the whites of America against the colored people, slave or free. This being its source, the effects are what might be expected; that it fosters and increase, the spirit of caste, already so unhappily predominant; that it widens the breach between the two races—exposes the colored people to great practical persecution, in order to *force* them to emigrate; and finally, is calculated to swallow up and divert that feeling which America, as a Christian and a free country, cannot but entertain, that slavery is alike incompatible with the law of God, and with the well being of man, whether the enslaver or the enslaved.

On these grounds, therefore, and while we acknowledge the Colony of Liberia, or any other colony on the coast of Africa, to be *in itself* a good thing, we must be understood utterly to repudiate the principles of the American Colonization Society. That Society is, in our estimation, not deserving of the countenance of the British public.

WM. WILBERFORCE,  
WM. SMITH,  
ZACHARY MACAULAY,  
WILLIAM EVANS, M. P.  
SAMUEL GURNEY,  
GEORGE STEPHEN,  
SUFFIELD,  
S. LUSHINGTON, M. P.  
THOS. FOWELL BUXTON, M. P.  
JAMES CROPPER,  
WILLIAM ALLEN,  
DANIEL O'CONNELL, M. P.

*London, July, 1833.*

#### A SLAVEHOLDING NATION.

We often hear it asserted that the United States, as a nation, have no concern with slavery; that, though it is tolerated in the southern States, the nation is not responsible for it, since Congress has no power to legislate on the subject. It is thus that men talk who have never reflected. But, on the other hand, we declare and are prepared to establish by proof, that the American nation, both directly and indirectly, both by legislating and neglecting to legislate, approves and encourages slavery, and its twin-born sin, the hatred against the colored race.

1. The constitution of the United States binds, as far as it can, the people of the northern States, to restore runaway slaves to their owners.

2. Congress has admitted slave States into the Union without any restriction on the subject of slavery.

3. Congress has not abolished slavery in the District of Columbia.

4. Congress has not abolished slavery in the territories of Florida and Arkansas.

The slaves in these territories are now few in numbers, but they are every day increasing. Slavery might now be abolished in them, with little inconvenience or expense. Every hour's delay renders the task of abolition more difficult.

5. Congress has not abolished the domestic slave-trade, carried on between the States.

It is well known that many thousand slaves are every year torn from their homes in the more northerly of the southern States, and sold into those farther south. A large part of them are raised for the very purpose of being thus sold. The sale of slaves is one of the largest traffics carried on in the United States. This slave-trade as abominable in principle and nearly as atrocious in practice, as the African slave-trade, it is within the power of Congress to abolish, as far as it is carried on between the States. The Constitution expressly gives that body the power to 'regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States.\*'

6. The laws of the federal government prohibit colored foreigners from being naturalized.

7. The same laws allow only free white persons to be enrolled in the militia.

It may not at first view appear any hardship upon colored persons to be exempted from serving in the militia. But when we recollect that this exemption is a mark of the contempt and scorn with which the whites too often regard their race, it must be complained of as unjust.

8. The same laws prohibit colored persons from carrying the mail.

9. Congress in the act incorporating the city of Washington gives the municipal authorities power, 'to prescribe the terms and conditions upon which free negroes and mulattoes may reside in the city.' This power has been most oppressively and abusively exercised by the city.

We have not searched the statute book of the United States to show all the cases in which the laws of the federal government have been unjust to the people of color, but have merely referred to such statutes as occur to our recollection. A careful examination of the published laws would, no doubt, bring to light many more. But the particulars which

\* This subject has been treated of by an able writer in the *Liberator*, of Oct. 5, 1833.

we have specified abundantly support our assertion that the Americans, as a nation, approve and encourage slavery, and foster the prejudices against the colored race. As a nation, then, until we do something to amend our constitution and laws, we are responsible for the shame and guilt of slavery, and are the aiders and abettors of a criminal proscription and persecution of our colored brethren.

#### NEW ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETIES.

We have received accounts of the formation of several new Anti-Slavery Societies. All of them seem likely to be carried on with spirit, and to be useful auxiliaries in the good cause.

#### WESTERN RESERVE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

On the day succeeding the late commencement of the Western Reserve College, at Hudson, Ohio, a meeting was held, at which an Anti-Slavery Society was formed on the principle of total and immediate emancipation. The friends of colonization having been apprised of the movement beforehand, attended the meeting, and proposed the formation of an association to be called 'The Western Reserve Anti-Slavery and Colonization Society.' After an animated discussion of three hours continuance, the colonizationists, failing to accomplish their object, withdrew. The real friends of abolition then adopted a constitution, and elected the following officers:

|                        |                        |
|------------------------|------------------------|
| ELIZUR WRIGHT, Esq.    | <i>President.</i>      |
| Dr. O. K. HAWLEY,      | <i>Vice President.</i> |
| Rev. HENRY COWLES,     | <i>Cor. Sec.</i>       |
| R. M. WALKER,          | <i>Rec. Sec.</i>       |
| OWEN BROWN, Esq.       | <i>Treasurer.</i>      |
| Rev. JACOB BAILY,      |                        |
| WOOLSEY WELLS, Esq.    |                        |
| Rev. DANIEL MILLER,    |                        |
| Rev. NATH. COBB,       |                        |
| Dr. WM. N. HUDSON,     |                        |
| JOHN M. STERLING, Esq. |                        |
| LUCRETIOUS BISSELL,    |                        |
| Rev. JOHN MONTIETH,    |                        |
| R. BIDWELL, Esq.       |                        |

*Counsellors.*

The following resolutions, among others, were then adopted:

*Resolved*, That notwithstanding the difference of opinion with respect to the Colonization Society, we cordially invite the friends of that Society to unite with us, in the prosecution of all matters which meet their approbation; and we pledge ourselves to co-operate with them in all their plans which we conceive, all things considered, will tend to benefit the colored people.

*Resolved*, That in the opinion of this society, the cause of the oppressed and the rights of man, require every citizen to petition to Congress immediately to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and in all the terri-

tories under their control, and that it is also the duty of the citizens of this State to petition the General Assembly at the next session to repeal all laws now existing in this state, which make a distinction between white and colored men in the enjoyment of rights and privileges.

#### NEW-YORK CITY ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

At a meeting of the friends of immediate emancipation of Slaves in the United States, held at Chatham-street Chapel, Wednesday evening, October 2, after the adoption of a Constitution, the Society went into the choice of officers, when the following persons were chosen,—

|                     |                        |
|---------------------|------------------------|
| ARTHUR TAPPAN,      | <i>President.</i>      |
| WM. GREEN, Jr.,     | <i>Vice President.</i> |
| JOHN RANKIN,        | <i>Treasurer.</i>      |
| ELIZUR WRIGHT, Jr., | <i>Cor. Secretary.</i> |
| C. W. DENISON,      | <i>Rec. Secretary.</i> |
| JOSHUA LEAVITT,     |                        |
| ISAAC T. HOOPEE,    |                        |
| ABRA. L. COX, M. D. |                        |
| LEWIS TAPPAN,       |                        |
| WM. GOODELL.        |                        |

*Managers.*

#### ABOLITION SOCIETY OF PAINT VALLEY.

Agreeably to adjournment, the Abolition Society of Paint Valley, Ohio, held its annual meeting, on Wednesday, the 28th of August, 1833, and the following officers were chosen.

|                       |                      |
|-----------------------|----------------------|
| GEORGE BROWN, Esq.    | <i>President.</i>    |
| WILLIAM WILSON, Esq.  | <i>V. President.</i> |
| ADAM B. WILSON,       | <i>Rec. Sec'y.</i>   |
| Rev. JAMES H. DICKEY, | <i>Cor. Sec'y.</i>   |
| Mr. JOSEPH LAWHEAD,   | <i>Treasurer.</i>    |

*Members of the Executive Committee for Highland County.*

Rev. SAMUEL CROTHERS,  
Hon. HUGH SMART.

*For Fayette County.*

Mr. HUGH GORMLY,  
Mr. JAMES McCONNEL.

*For Ross County.*

WILLIAM SMITH, Esq.  
Mr. JAMES C. STEELE.

#### ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY OF PLAINFIELD AND ITS VICINITY.

The Unionist of August 29, gives an account of a meeting in Plainfield, Ct. at which the 'Anti-Slavery Society of Plainfield, and its vicinity,' was organized. An address was delivered by Mr. Andrew Rockwell, and a constitution adopted. Forty three persons then became members of the Society. The following persons were then chosen officers.

|                        |                        |
|------------------------|------------------------|
| Dea. RINALDO BURLEIGH, | <i>President.</i>      |
| SAMUEL L. HOUGH,       |                        |
| GEORGE SHARPE,         |                        |
| EDWIN TUCKER,          | <i>Rec. Secretary.</i> |
| Rev. S. J. MAY,        | <i>Cor. Secretary.</i> |

*Vice Presidents.*

## TRUTH.

True it is, that an ill-timed zeal is always indiscreet, and calculated to irritate, rather than to convert. But to avow with frankness and modesty what we regard as an important truth,—to do it, even when we have reason to conclude it will not be palatable, and to meet willingly any ridicule or sarcasm which may be launched against it; this I maintain to be an actual duty. A noble avowal of this kind, moreover, may always be made, without pretending to assume, uncalled for, anything of the missionary character.

It is, I repeat, a duty, not to keep back an important truth at any period; for though there may be little hope of its being immediately acknowledged; it may tend to prepare the mind of others, and in due time, doubtless, produce a better and more impartial judgment, and a consequent triumph of truth. *Silvio Pellico.*

[From an English Tract.]

## THE NEGRO MOTHER'S APPEAL.

White Lady, happy, proud and free!  
Lend, awhile, thine ear to me;  
Let the Negro Mother's wail  
Turn thy pale cheek yet more pale.

Yes, thy varying cheek can show  
Feelings none save mothers know;  
My sable bosom does but hide  
Strong affection's rushing tide.

Joy, fair Lady, with the name  
Of Mother, for thy first born came,  
Joy unmingled with the fear  
Which dwells, alas! for ever here.

Can the Negro Mother joy  
Over this, her captive boy,  
Which, in bondage, and in tears,  
For a life of woe she rears?

Though she bears a mother's name,  
A mother's rights she may not claim,  
For the white man's will can part  
Her darling from her bursting heart.

Safe within thy circling arms,  
Thou mayst watch the opening charms  
Of the babe who sinks to rest  
Cradled on thy snowy breast;

Confiding in thy right divine,  
Press his rosy lips to thine;  
By no force, nor fraud can he  
Snatched from thy embraces be.

Gently nurtured shall he grow;  
Bitter toil shall never know;  
Never feel the gnawing pain  
Of the captive's hopeless chain.

And thou wilt bid him fix his eye  
On a bright home in the sky;  
And teach him how to lift his prayer  
To a gracious Father there.

I hear, too, of that God above,  
Some tell me that his name is Love;  
That all his children, dark or fair,  
Alike his pitying favor share.

They tell me that our Father bade  
All love the creatures he has made;  
That none should ever dare oppress,  
But seek each other's happiness.

Yet I see the white man gain  
His riches by the Negro's pain;  
See him close his eyes and ears  
To his brother's cries and tears.

But, Lady, when thy look, so mild,  
Rests upon thine own fair child,  
Think, then, of one less fair, indeed,  
But one for whom thy heart should bleed.

Born to his parents' wretched fate,  
Him no smiling hours await;  
Toil, and scourge, and chain, his doom,  
From the cradle to the tomb.

When bow'd beneath his earthly woes,  
His fainting heart would seek repose,  
And listen to the holy call,  
Which bids him trust the Lord of all;

When he in lowly prayer would bend  
Before an everlasting Friend;  
Learn how to reach those mansions blest,  
Where even *he* at length may rest;

By a stern master's jealous pride,  
This blessing, too, may be denied;  
He may forbid his care-worn slave  
To look for hope beyond the grave.

Oh! if that blessed law be true,  
They tell me Jesus preached to you,  
'Tis well, perhaps, to veil its light,  
From the poor bondsman's aching sight.

Lest too clearly he might trace  
The records of a Father's grace;  
Read his own wrongs in words of flame,  
And his lost birthright proudly claim.

Yet, white men, fear not; even we,  
Despised, degraded, though we be,  
Have hearts to feel, to understand,  
And keep your Master's great command.

That faith, your kinder brethren bring,  
Like Angels on their healing wing,  
To cheer us in the hour of gloom,  
With glimpses of a brighter home;

That faith, beneath whose hallow'd name,  
Ye work the deeds of sin and shame;  
Which bids the sinner turn and live,  
Can teach the Negro to forgive.

For all the gems of Afric's coast,  
And fruits her palmy forests boast,  
I would not harm that boy of thine,  
Nor bid him groan and toil for mine.

I would but, on my bended knee,  
Beseech that mine might be as free;  
Child of the same indulgent Heaven,  
Might share the common blessings given.

I would but, when the lisping tone  
Of thy sweet infant mocks thine own,  
That thou shouldst teach his earliest thought  
To spurn the wealth by slavery bought.

I would but, when thy babe is prest  
With transports to a father's breast,  
Thy gentle voice should plead the cause  
Of nature and her outraged laws;

Should bid that father break the chain  
In which he holds our wretched train,  
And by the love to thee he bears,  
Dispel the Negro Mother's fears.

By thy pure, maternal joy,  
Bid him spare my helpless boy;  
And thus a blessing on his own  
Seek from his Maker's righteous throne.